

The Republican.

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TO GEORGE CANNING,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, May 14, Year 4,
of the Spanish Revolution.

PATIENCE is your panacea for the political evils of the too patient people of this Island, and, if my not addressing you more frequent be any proof of the possession of that quality, you will admit, that I possess a proportionate and becoming share.

I addressed a letter to you on your taking office in September last, and promised to do so again if I saw occasion. I have waited eight months that I might fully ascertain the line of conduct you would pursue, and I am happy to perceive, that I have neither been disappointed myself nor led my friends astray by anticipating more good from you than you were disposed to practice. Many public men, who are moved by feathers, have fallen into this error; and you were not ashamed to avail yourself of their follies to strengthen your purposes. They have offered and you have accepted their praise and have taken credit for a desire and intention to extend the liberties of the people of Europe, but the developement of your actions up to this time has proved you to be what I had anticipated a wilful misleader of those who were weak enough to place any the least reliance upon you.

I know not what else a careful observer could expect from the man, who, with a consciousness of superior ability, attempted, by intrigue and slander, to undermine his brother minister who had the audacity to fight that minister, and who, subsequently, had the baseness to truckle to, and to act as the underling of his slandered, duelled and still powerful opponent, courting his pay and his pleasure, his smiles and his favours, and servilely doing his bidding! I know not what else we could expect from the man who could play this character with a *Castlereagh*, and who has since shewn, with regard to an *Eldon*, that a place is a panacea to heal the wounds of the

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most perfect contempt and the most pointed insult! I know not what else could be expected from the man who says: *I will not truckle to an honest man out of power: but whose actions have uniformly said: "I will truckle to ignorance, to insult, to villainy, to any thing in power so that I can make it profitable to the family of the Huns and Cannings!?"*

Where ability acquires power, property, and distinction by its merits alone; where it emerges from poverty without extraneous aid, and reaches the highest offices of state untainted with meanness, servility or crime, it stands immovable, an object of general respect, receives a polish instead of a wound from every dart that slander can shoot, and exhibits the conscious smile of pity at every attempt to undermine its fair fame. Such is the ability that is founded upon the knowledge of man, his condition and capacity, and well applied to putting in action all the means that relate to his improvement. But this is not the ability of which a Canning can boast, nor that for which he is too much lauded.

In you, I perceive a capacious memory that can store a jest, a tale and a moral, and that by an apt, though often a stale and inapposite application, can so adorn a speech as to move the muscles of a countenance that indicates a vacant mind, amuse that which is shallow, deceive that which is careless and credulous, and thus obtain credit for ability. But let a calm, a critical and an attentive mind, bring your flourished orations to an analytical test, and it will soon exhibit their light and brassy character. Let it remove the froth of impertinence with which you so freely bespatter them, and it will find that your apparent boldness and consistency defines nothing but a sense, a consciousness of corrupt power: for we seldom find you speaking with animation unless it be to procure or to preserve such a power.

In you, I do not perceive that ability which elevates itself by the force of its own virtue, that spurns at all immoral patronage, and that is no where seen allied to baseness: I cannot see that you have reached your present state by such means; but I can see a continued mystery connected with your movements, from your birth to this day, exhibiting a bastard origin, a bastard influence, and a bastard spirit throughout, that has trampled on Virtue and treated her as an alien, because with you she claimed no kindred.

The principal object of this letter is to take a brief review of your conduct since September last; and if, in the con-

clusions I shall draw, and the results I shall anticipate, I be hereafter deceived, I shall be deceived with satisfaction.

The time at which you entered on your present office, was a time big with events, as we have already seen and shall yet further see. It was at a moment when the Despots of Europe were assembling to hold what I hope will prove their last consultation. Every man in Europe deserving to be called a politician could see, that their object was to arrange an attack upon the Spanish constitution; though the manner in which they might resolve to do it was doubtful. I have thought from first to last, that you Mr. Canning, the whole of your present colleagues, your supporters and your Royal master, were as anxious that the experiment of an attack upon the Spanish Constitution should be made, as the Emperors of Russia and Austria, or the Duke of Angoulême himself. I do now believe, that the only real difference between you has been, as to the manner in which it should be done. You did not like in the first instance to trust the matter to a French army, and did not therefore consent at once to a march of Russians or Austrians through France. But I do believe, that, if gold could have corrupted a sufficient number of the Spaniards, to have effected the overthrow of their constitution, you would have willingly furnished your quota, as a member of the Holy Alliance, and have rejoiced in the triumph of what you would have called, the principles of Royal Legitimacy over those of Revolutionary Democracy.

As a public writer, I believe I stand alone in the avowal of such an opinion of you; but a close observation of all that has been reported of you, has furnished me with this conclusion. I fancy that I see from you a line of conduct common to the Egyptian Priests; the holding of two doctrines; the *esoteric* and the *exoteric*; the one for the public, the other for yourself, colleagues and associates; with this difference, both intended to deceive the public, but the Priests happened to be wiser than the public, and taught that which was not true nor useful to deceive them: and you have to hold out hopes to the public, of the performance of that which you are sensible they know to be right, but which you never mean to perform. This is no novelty with you, it has been the character of the English Government ever since the arrival of the Guelphs.

In looking at the correspondences which you have lately held upon the affairs of Spain, and which you have laid before the Parliament, I could not for a moment believe them to be real, deficient as they were in a profession of

sincerity: I considered them to have been written purposely for the public eye, whilst the other parts, or other documents which have been kept secret, have conveyed to and fro, the real sentiments which have been acted upon. Had there been sincerity, you could have said to France, to Prussia, to Austria, to Russia: "*if you attack Spain you attack Great Britain.*" That simple expression was all that sincerity, or the necessity of the case required. Those eight words would have been sufficient, and not a shilling ought to have been spent in the conference beyond sending the note by an ordinary courier. The declaration made; the result should have been waited for, and instantly acted upon, if war had been the choice of the despots. In all such matters, decision is every thing, and indecision generally calamitous, as I expect we shall see it to be in this case.

But this is the struggle between Monarchy and Republicanism, to which you alluded in your Liverpool speech, and it is well known, that your side is the side that can pay best for the time being. Monarchy abolished, we should have you as warm a Republican as any man in the Republic; and I think you are likely to live until you cannot find a footstep of land that does not form part of a Republic: at least, in any place where you would like to tread. During the struggle, you will hold to the strongest side, and change sides as soon as power changes. You obtain credit for not annoying the Greeks, but you first saw that the Greeks had proved themselves invincible to the Turks. You clamour for neutrality, as to the Royal war upon Spain, but if Spain be victorious, I expect your neutrality will be at an end: and that you will then become, what I fear, a pernicious ally of the Spaniards.

General liberty has no charms for you: the liberty of any man but yourself, you care nothing about, so you can get sufficient power and profit to yield you the greatest amount of liberty and pleasure in your individual existence. Every man struggles for liberty: but despots for their own individual liberty and aggrandizement, and those who are oppressed, for a general liberty, as necessary to put down and keep down that oppression.

Every word you utter, and every action you perform, has its pivot in the policy of the last paragraph. It is here I read your character and anticipate your future conduct. The same principles animate the breasts of nearly all men: the exceptions are only such as are common to all general

rules. When a youth I entertained the common notions about pride, and used to think this a proud man and that a proud woman; but, on reading the excellent maxims and moral reflections of Rochefoucault, I was staggered to find, that he saw the pride of all men to be alike, and that it only differed in the means and manner of shewing it. I observed and reflected a great deal, before I could get to be of the same opinion, but now, I am quite satisfied as to the correctness of the conclusion.

I offer these observations, not as a justification for your career, but as the ground on which I take a view of your conduct and anticipate the future. The natural and individual right which I feel to extend my liberty, or to join with others in a similar attempt, justifies me in all the hostility I can offer to you, who seek to oppress me and them. You struggle for your own liberty and pleasure to our injury, we for ours in a manner that shall leave you on a state of equality with us. It is therefore our right and our duty, to seek to deprive you, and all those who proceed upon your plan, of your present power.

I take an exactly similar view of your parliamentary conduct. In all your opposition to reform of every kind, or to a lessening of the burthens of the people, you are guided by the principle of not lessening the amount of your present power. Your opposition to the spirit of reformation has no other motive. Your arguments all centre upon this pivot, were you out of power, had you no hope of alliance or profit with the existing form of government, we should have you one of the most eloquent advocates for reform, in its fullest extent, that is, to the extent that would afford you the greatest amount of liberty and pleasure. Such an advocacy of reform would be altogether just and virtuous. General liberty defines a general restraint, or that each shall enjoy his share without encroaching upon that of others. With this you are not at present content, and, therefore, you violate the common right, and set yourself in hostile attitude against those, who are justified in destroying your power, even if it requires the destruction of your person. This is a doctrine I will never shrink from advocating, because, I clearly perceive, it is essential to the acquirement and preservation of general liberty. I do not apply it to you individually and exclusively; I apply it generally; for, in fact, I am far from thinking you the most odious of despots, though sufficiently odious for every honest oppressed man in this country to be justified in resisting and

in endeavouring to annihilate your power and means of doing mischief, which, in other words, means your individual aggrandizement, for, as I have before observed, I cannot see that your ability has acquired you power and profit by fair and virtuous means.

Sensible that your government exists, or that you hold power and profit by corrupt means, you are as tenacious of that power and those means, as of life. This accounts for the half measured reduction of certain taxes during the present session of Parliament. To have reduced the whole of the assessed taxes would have been a reduction of power and patronage, by lessening the number of persons employed to gather them. Though, perhaps, one penny less would not have been received at the treasury. Your government is kept in existence by the purchase of an aid that is useless for every other object, and, without that aid, you know it would not exist; for you have not an atom of moral support from the people who really furnish the taxes. If you had such a support, one half of the taxes now gathered would be sufficient, or, at least, of those which are not applied to pay the interest of the debt, for full one-half of those taxes are swallowed up to support the existence of that corrupt power which you find necessary to keep your government in existence. This is the case under all tyrannies, the people are actually obliged to labour to support the power which is employed for no other purpose than to oppress them! A knowledge of this is enough to make every such labourer a Reformer; for to know the evil and not to desire to get rid of it, is physically and morally impossible! You may, therefore, see, Mr. Canning, that your ridicule and abuse of the Reformers was not dropped a moment too soon; and had you never begun it, you would have had much less to answer for on a future day. Your triumph, or prosperity, has no foundation but in the too great amount of ignorance among the people: on which a little knowledge and cunning has always heretofore managed to thrive, I know well why I am a prisoner; so do you; and as soon as a sufficient number of the people are made sensible of the cause, there will be no more prosecutions for sedition and blasphemy.

But to come more closely to your career in office, I would observe, that you have been far from making the brilliant figure which many expected. In the House of Commons, you seem to have bidden adieu to eloquence, and like your predecessor have placed your reliance on the votes

of your retainers! It is become a treat to catch you in a debate! Mr. Brougham seems to have taught you that the less said is the soonest mended, even if it be to repel a falsehood, or a keen cutting sarcasm! No taunts, no jests, nothing but one stale story, about James the First, and his two bishops, throughout the session!

I have heard some talk about the pungent wit of your state papers, when you formerly filled your present office; but those which have been lately exhibited, have been remarkable for nothing but dullness and absolute stupidity. This I attribute to treachery, and to the want of a kindred subject to write upon.

I do not believe, with many, that you have been duped by the Bourbon politicians, by Montmorency, Chateaubriand, and Villele; but I do believe, that you have, throughout, had a full understanding of their wishes and intentions; you pleaded ignorance to the public, and that only because you had a sort of fearful foresight as to the result. The motives of these French politicians and yours are exactly alike; they desire to lessen the amount of general liberty to obtain the surer means of preserving and extending their own. This is the despot's rule of action; and this he invariably pursues, until some wise and bold men rise up to check him.

It is unnecessary to advise you to make hay whilst the sun shines; but you may be assured that your stay in office will be short. If you fill out this year, you will not go much beyond it. Circumstances are surrounding you thick and fast that tend to deprive you of power. If you, and your colleagues, consent to make war against the Holy Alliance, it will never be permitted that you and they shall have the carrying it on. It would be the most popular war in which this country was ever engaged, and that popularity would be jealous of your disposition to direct it well. You may therefore prepare for a short-lived career in office. If the Spaniards are successful, and you not engaged on their side, the tide of revolution will soon remove you; for to war against them, is what you cannot venture to think of, however strong your inclination. You are thus placed between two fires, and you have not sufficient virtue and ability to bear you triumphant through the attacks of those who envy and those who despise you.

RICHARD CARLILE.

COPY OF A LETTER

SENT TO THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT PEEL, SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, May 12, 1823.

I AM sensible that custom does not allow me to question you on any matter reported to have been spoken by you in the House of Commons, but it is the duty of every good Citizen to give the Secretary of State for the Home Department, all possible information, where he appears not to be correctly informed.

I therefore take the liberty to inform the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that the report of observations made by Mr. Peel in the House of Commons, on the presentation of a petition by Mr. Hume from me, has conveyed to the public that which is not true, and exposed an unfair attempt to justify his detention of me in prison.

By a report in "The Morning Chronicle" of Friday, the 9th instant, Mr. Peel is made to say, that I admit the sale of *fifteen thousand* copies of a particular publication, at half a guinea a copy, and that I cannot therefore fairly complain of the fine imposed upon me, or its enforcement; or words to that effect.

The publication alluded to is Thomas Paine's Theological Works, and, as to the profits I have made upon them, very erroneous notions have gone forth to the public; I, therefore, proceed to inform you what number I have sold, the price at which I have sold them, and, as near as I can calculate, the probable amount of profit.

In the year 1818, I was connected in business with a Mr. Sherwin, he had a press and types, and I was his publisher. In this manner we had been connected near two years; had completed an edition of the Political Works of Thomas Paine, and had proceeded to print an edition of the Theological Works. The first edition was one thousand in number; my arrangement with Mr. Sherwin was to pay him five shillings a copy for every copy of the first edition. I sold one hundred copies at six shillings a copy to one individual. I sold about four hundred copies at seven shillings a copy, giving in the twenty-fifth book where that number was taken by one person: this was the price to all the country agents, and to a few of the London wholesale

agents. I sold about two hundred and fifty copies at eight shillings a copy: which was the common trade price. And, at the outside, I did not retail more than two hundred and fifty copies, at half a guinea a copy; every person connected with the paper trade, from the paper-maker to the paper-hanger, claiming the right of buying at trade price, including authors, editors, printers, and book-binders. Here it may be seen, that without any set off for expences of publication, such as placards, advertisements, &c. I did not average a profit of three shillings and sixpence a copy on the thousand. I had further to pay ready money, and to sustain many losses by giving credit to country agents: besides, observing a prevailing custom of presenting copies to friends, editors of newspapers, reviews, magazines, &c.

This edition appeared in the middle of December, 1818. Beyond the copies previously bespoken by the trade, the sale was very dull, until the middle of January, when a prosecution was commenced. This created such a demand that the edition was out of print by the end of the month; and I had to buy back, wherever I could, the copies that remained unsold with the trade, before I could get another edition ready.

In the course of the month of February, 1819, I employed another printer to print three thousand copies: two thousand on fine paper, which were to be sold as before, and one thousand on common paper, to be sold in parts at 2s. 6d. less, on the whole. This edition I had entirely on my hands. The cost price for paper, printing, and boarding, was full three shillings a copy: and they were sold, some at half a guinea, some at eight shillings, some at seven shillings, and many of the common paper edition so low as 5s. 4d. If I were to say, that I averaged a profit of five shillings a copy on this edition, at the end of two years, without setting off any expence for publication. I should state the outside gross profit.

These were all the editions printed before my trials came on. Three thousand were sold by the time of trial, and one thousand remained unsold, which were not finally disposed of until the year 1821. The sum total of the profits, without any set off for expences, was £900; the whole of which has been swallowed up in expences of publication, of prosecution, and imprisonment.

The return of money which this publication occasioned, enabled me to bring out a variety of other publications, some profitable and some unprofitable; but the balance so

much with the former, as to constitute a successful trade. However, I can sum up all at once, and say, that after having received a thousand pounds as subscription-money, and after all the profits so much talked about, so great has been the extent of my losses and expences, from the prosecutions I have sustained, that I have now no kind of property but stock in trade, with a debt and heavy expences entailed upon it: and, if I was ever so much disposed, I could not turn a hundred pounds in money from it towards my fines. This is the true result of my great profits.

As yet, the trade of falsehood is much more profitable than the trade of truth. Had it not been for the thousand pounds subscription money, my profits in trade, and the kindness of his Majesty's Ministers, would have left me in want: and, if it had not been for the seizure of my stock, by writ of *levari facias*, in 1819, I could have paid my fines, and probably have been worth ten thousand pounds at this moment: at least, the growing importance of my business, at that time, warrants the conclusion.

The aforementioned copies of Paine's Theological Works are the whole that have been sold at any thing like a profitable price, but I have printed two other editions, of which I send you specimens.

On the First Day's Proceedings of my Mock Trials, I read the whole of "The Age of Reason," and began immediately to print it in sheets. I printed nine sheets, or to page 144, in the year 1819, and ten thousand of each sheet. They were retailed at two-pence per sheet. In 1822, I finished the First Day's Proceedings, in five more sheets: of which I printed five thousand of each. The whole has sold at 2s. 6d. The copy I send you is the last perfect copy we have, without reprinting some of the sheets. If we take the average of sheets sold, and call them five thousand copies of "The Age of Reason:" it will be the outside number; but, in consequence of having about fourteen or fifteen thousand of those sheets seized in 1819, I have never made a penny profit on this publication, but have sustained a loss.

Last year, I began to print an edition of five thousand, in the miniature size, which are nearly all sold: but, as the three parts sell at 6d. 12d. and 9d. or 2s. 3d. in the whole, the price leaves but little profit, as the expence of composition is the same in all sizes of letters. With the exception of a thousand copies of a pamphlet, entitled an "Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas Paine," the foregoing

is a correct statement of all that I have printed, and the prices which they have fetched. The reports which have gone forth in the papers under your name, justify me in making this exposition; as it is possible that you misunderstand the case, or have been misinformed as to the truth.

There is no matter connected with my business, nor with any transaction of my life, or in which I have been engaged, but of which I will give you correct information, if you wish it.

To shew you the total inutility of such prosecutions as those I have met, I can inform you, that Mr. Benbow, a publisher, has a stereotyped edition of the work in question; and, I have reasons to think, has sold many thousand copies, suiting the price to his customer. I calculate, that twenty thousand have been sold since December, 1818, and, I verily think, that twenty hundred would not have been called for, if no prosecutions had taken place. Were you to put in force all the powers with which you are armed, I know they are many and mighty, you could not suppress this, nor any other book. You may oppress and ruin an individual, but the Printing Press and book trade in this country; bid you a proud defiance, if you do desire to controul them. I am not fully acquainted with all the secrets of the trade, but this I know, that of late, no book that has been prosecuted has ever been suppressed, though apparently withdrawn from sale, the private circulation is equally effectual, and high prices are obtained. In fact, this sale of suppressed books, as they are called, forms a complete branch of the trade, and has for a century past, or ever since such prosecutions have been instituted. It has been the sole support of many booksellers in London, and the best of them will take orders for such books, where they know their customers. They always know where to find the market. I found some of them not a little disconcerted and injured by my open sale. Knowing these things, I know, that the folly is as great as the wickedness in keeping me and others in prison for publishing Deistical Books, or in instituting prosecutions on that account.

In making this exposition, I wish to be understood, as not offering any thing like concession or compromise. I would not make you the most simple promise, in opposition to my late and present conduct, to obtain my liberation: nor should I feel, that you, or any else, was entitled to thanks for it. I am sensible that I have done neither a legal, nor a moral wrong, and that I never ought to have

been in prison an hour. If any human being can shew me the contrary, I will make a public acknowledgement of it and beg pardon.

I was astonished to hear that Mr. Solicitor General should say in the House of Commons, that the Government was not responsible for the conduct of the Sheriff, with regard to the detention of my property. The Government ordered and directed the whole affair, and it is a low and disgraceful trickery, now Sheriff Rothwell is dead, to attempt to throw the blame on him, or on his colleague who was not consulted. The Sheriff's conduct was illegal; I knew it; the Government knew it; and a Jury has declared it to have been so; but he was not an independent officer; he acted under orders; he was a corrupt tool; and the Government unquestionably engaged to indemnify him for all consequences. But he, a strong and healthy man, was cut off, by death, in the midst of his villainy, and I still survive all the robberies and all the rancour of my persecutors; after a close imprisonment of thirteen hundred days!!!

Sheriff Rothwell, with his under Sheriff, was in the Court of King's Bench before my sentence was passed, waiting for the writ, he had no business there, and would not have been there if he had not been sent for purposely, that immediate seizure of my property might be made. Why, Sir, his officers surrounded my house before my sentence was passed, and actually took possession an hour before the writ arrived.

Besides, did the Sheriff of 1822 make application for another writ, to commit a second *sacrilege* on the impoverished TEMPLE OF REASON, or had the Government nothing to do with the second seizure and detention?

If the word of Mr. Parkins the colleague of the late Mr. Rothwell, is to be believed, he has uniformly declared that he was never consulted about the seizure or detention of my property; and that, if he had the power he would return every article taken. Who then prevented his interference since the death of his colleague?

When Mrs. Carlile called upon Mr. Under Sheriff Turner, in December, 1819, about the property, he said he could do nothing without the orders of Mr. Maule the Solicitor to the Treasury and Mr. Maule gave orders for its removal from the premises.

When Hopwood the Sheriff's Officer, was asked in February 1820, when the sale was to take place, he said: "We have written to the Lord Chief Justice about it, and he has answered, that he must consult the Cabinet!"

So, it appears, that I am to seek redress from the dead Sheriff for the robbery made on my property, and still to suffer unlimited imprisonment, because his Majesty's Ministers are afraid or ashamed to acknowledge their own acts!

It is a maxim in morals, that for a man to be respected, he must make himself respectable. It is correct, and applies to a Government as well as to an individual.

It was the climax of infamy on the part of the Government, to detain me a prisoner after the 16th November last, on account of my fines; when it had made such havoc with the whole of my property that it could lay hands on, without attempting to make it available towards those fines; but, when the Solicitor General was allowed to say in the House of Commons, that the detention of my property did not emanate from, nor rest with the Government, that climax was capped.

There is one thing you may do for me, unless you are anxious to shorten my imprisonment by shortening my life. I have been three years and a half a close prisoner, locked up in this room from which I write to you. On first coming here the *humane* managers of this Goal said I might walk out half an hour each day, or one hour every other day, just as the Gaoler could send a person to walk as a guard over me. I soon found that this treatment was intolerable. I complained to the Magistrates in vain, I complained to Lord Sidmouth, who left the matter to the discretion of the Magistrates; but in consequence of my writing to his Lordship, they offered to make the period one hour a day. This I declined, and contended for the common treatment in the Gaol, or the liberty to walk in the open air, in the day time, as every other prisoner could do.

From the month of February, 1820, to April 1821, I never quitted the room. In February, 1821, when Mrs. Carlile came to the Gaol a prisoner, she was sent to my room with an infant fifteen months old. No kind of offer was made to her to walk out any where, nor at any time; nor could we get the infant carried out anywhere. This was the treatment we received until April. At the end of March the infant was all but dead from close confinement, and, on this occasion, the surgeon interfered and requested the Magistrates to allow it to be carried out into the open air. The *brutes* were alarmed and consented, for *brutes* they have been to me and my family in every sense of the word. Not willing to be a party to the murder of my infant or wife, I sacrificed my own feelings and consented to walk

out with them two hours a day: but, as the time was always fixed, I found, that owing to weather and other circumstances, we could never get out on an average more than an hour a day. Matters continued in this state until Mrs. Carlile left the Gaol in February last. Then, seeing that I had no definite time as to imprisonment, I renewed my claim for free admission to the open air in the day time: a duty, which I considered circumstances imposed upon me, not only as a matter essential to the preservation of my health, after so long and so close a confinement; but as a matter of resistance to brute oppression; for, there is no moral obstacle, nor any thing that would clash with the discipline of the Gaol, to my being allowed to walk out in the open air at discretion in the day time. The whole and sole obstacle is the base and prejudiced minds of the Magistrates towards me.

This claim they have again resisted, and I am a close prisoner, with what must follow it, after so lengthened and so close a confinement—a decaying constitution.

I now ask you to interpose your authority and obtain me free access to the open air, in the day time: excuses having been made, that orders for the treatment I have received have emanated from your office.

The Newspapers of this county have been putting forth a pretended eulogy from you as to the management of this Gaol being of the best kind: now, if you wish it, I will give you *proofs*, that the present visiting Magistrates and the Gaoler are a lying dishonourable set of men, on whose reports you never ought to rely, on questionable or doubtful matters.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
RICHARD CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Clapham, April 3, Year 1823 of the
Christian God, Jesus the Jew.

ESTEEMED FELLOW CITIZEN,

WE, the undersigned Friends to Free Discussion, Inhabitants of Clapham, had ere now hoped to have congratulated you upon your escape from the tyrannical gripe of your unfeeling gospel-dispensing persecutors. Yet, notwithstanding the expiration of your sentence, and the privations you have endured, they still continue your confinement. Mercy, or rather Justice, dwells not in their flinty bo-

soms. So much for the boasted charity of Christians, without which, saith Paul, whatever other good qualities ye possess, it profiteth ye nothing, even if ye give all your goods to the poor, and your body to be burned (for the cause of religion); and yet those hypocritical pretenders to Christian faith, avow their belief of the truth of those assertions, however deficient they may be of that principle so necessary toward the attainment of eternal felicity.

But upon another view of your case, instead of imputing the punishment inflicted upon you by Christians to malice, tyranny, or fear, lest the works promulgated by you overthrow their BEAUTIFUL system. Might not their motives be attributed to LOVE? Yes, Sir, to a PURE and HOLY ZEAL for the salvation of your soul! however opposite your treatment may accord with your notions of friendship, and your definition of the Christian command, "love your enemies:" but remember, Sir, you have no judgment in this case. You are of this world; the wisdom of which is as foolishness with God. There is a quietus for you!

Now, since it is the Christian's duty to imitate the actions and passions of their deity, they certainly act with more consistency than their opponents admit; it being a maxim with them, that "whom the Lord LOVETH he CHASTENETH." Like the Hibernian who upon "meeting his friend, for *love knocks him down*." Thus, Sir, the KNOCK DOWNS you have received, are so many STRIKING proofs of the ATTACHMENT your PIOUS friends entertain for you. The heart which has aught of the "milk of human kindness" within it, may occupy the breast of an infidel or philanthropist, but Christians, Sir, are superior to those FAILINGS of our nature. How ENVIABLE must be the state of mind possessed by the elect of God, who secure of their own eternal bliss, can calmly view millions of their fellow men dropping into the insatiate jaws of hell, the purity and innocent lives of many of whom would make him blush for his own conduct; yet their fate is inevitable, because Nature planted them were the gospel sound of salvation was never heard; or because REASON, that inestimable gift of Nature, COMPELS them to reject as FALSE that which appears to them AMBIGUOUS and ABSURD, which when tried by the touchstone of TRUTH, vanishes into the "baseless fabric" of wild enthusiasm, created, nourished, and produced by the heated and disordered brain of fanatics. In short, all who are not FOOLS enough to credit any thing; or HYPOCRITICAL enough to PRETEND to it; must be condemned to eternal perdition by that Being whose superior power rules our actions. He who is inexorable yet easily cajoled (by the faithful); cruel, vindictive, and blood-thirsty; yet just, merciful, and who delighteth not in the death of a sinner. *A propos*, a Frenchman who had been partaking too plentifully of punch the preceding evening, was complaining the next morning to a friend of the severe head-ache the debauch had occasioned, not remembering the name of the liquor, described it as "de liqueur dat vas all contradictions," and enumerated the names and qualities of the ingredients. His friend soon

discovered it to be punch. "Ah! ah!" exclaimed Monsieur, "dat dam punch, almost punchee mon brains out." So, Sir, all who cannot reconcile the contradictions discovered in religion, says Priestcraft, will be punched into hell.

// It appears to me that Christians by separating from the God of Israel some of his prominent features have manufactured it into that celebrated gentleman, Beelzebub, to whom they should have allotted a fourth place in the Deity, since the power he possesses entitles him to a moiety of our veneration and worship. The analogy between the character of the God of Heaven and the Lord of Hell is so very apparent, that it must certainly belong to the Supreme Being. Let us then give the Devil his due, and replace him with that Triumvirate from which he has emanated, where he will have the happiness to meet many of his old friends, who are periodically dispatched to the Kingdom of Glory, by the recruiting officers appointed for the purpose, commonly yclept Ordinaries of Prisons, whose interests are sufficient to supply all applicants with a snug birth in the aforesaid regions.

// For the present I conclude, wishing you, your wife, and sister, health, and as much happiness as circumstances permit, with a speedy release from your dungeon, and remain,

Your Friend and Fellow Citizen,

J. BOWDEN.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
J. Bowden	4	0	James Blackhall	3	0
W. H. sen.	2	0	Mary Blackhall	2	0
J. C. H.	1	0	T. G.	0	6
W. H.	1	0	W. Nichols, an old Repub-		
R. B——t	1	0	lican	2	6

TO MR. BOWDEN, CLAPHAM.

CITIZENS.

Dorchester Gaol, May 6, 1823.

THOUGH my friends are not very numerous in your district, I am happy to perceive that the few are stedfast and deeply impressed with the importance of the principles they advocate. If I stood alone, to-morrow, and could not find one human being to say of my actions, "*well done*," I would still proclaim those principles, as far as my voice would extend, whilst under the impression that they are of the utmost importance to mankind. This is a line of conduct I also recommend to all friends, who may be so situated as not to find the countenance of a neighbour. Persevere in morality; shew the pleasure it affords and its power to smoothe the path of life, and you will find, that if not openly supported, you

will be respected by all other moral people who may be able to observe your actions.

"*Read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest,*" is a very important recommendation; but not of itself sufficient. *Communicate to others* what you "*read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest*" is the completion of duty in that respect, and constitutes what we now much want, free discussion, which is both the substance and attribute of LIBERTY, and the only proof of its existence. Accept my thanks for your repeated support, and believe me anxious to merit it.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN,

Bradford, May 3, 1823.

A NEW convert to Deism and Republicanism addresses you in behalf of his fellow Citizens at Bradford; one who by your exertions, has his mind thoroughly freed from a belief in the pretended writings of that Jewish impostor and conjuror Moses, and now regards them as a tale, told by an idiot, full of sound and fury: signifying nothing. We are well are of the difficulties with which you have to struggle, and the opposition of all the sects of Fanatics with which you have to contend; in consideration of which we here inclose a small subscription to assist you (if possible) to meet the demands of your tyrannical oppressors. We have taken a retrospective view of your character, and have the satisfaction to remark: that notwithstanding the attempts of a horde of spies and incendiaries to destroy you, notwithstanding the Christian Judge Bailey's inhuman sentence of three years imprisonment, and the fine of £1500, and the subsequent destruction of your property: notwithstanding the hypocritical cant of the whole combined banditti of anathematizing Priests: notwithstanding the raving of the deluded fanatic and the wild impetuosity of the bigot: notwithstanding the various insults, the complicated mass of suffering and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to: the intrepid Carlile, continues firm at his post, unsubdued, undismayed! O! relax not in your efforts. Persevere in your arduous your laudable undertaking, Continue indefatigable in your exertions—suffer not the gloomy walls of your dungeon to cast a similar gloom on your spirits. Let the all cheering prospect of the rectitude of your motives inspire you with renewed ardour. Remember the cause you are advocating is the cause of the world. You are engaged in a warfare, which in the result will crown you with immortal honours. You have set yourself in battle array against two of the most formidable, the most tyrannical and oppressive pests that ever cursed society: viz. kingcraft and priestcraft. That you may succeed in extirpating both is the wish of all sincere Republicans.

No. 21. Vol. VII.

Take courage! Carlile, the day of retribution is not far distant. Your incarceration has achieved wonders; The mutilated fabric of superstition has received an electric shock. In vain may they attempt to destroy the principles which reason and philosophy have diffused. The enemies to freedom and free discussion are falling on your right and on your left. One primeval fiend galled with a hell of guilt upon his conscience dies in the agonizing tortures of a broken heart; another, by the assistance of an individual seeking redress for his ruined family: and a third, callous to all the finer feelings of humanity, lost to all sense of honour and the amiable characteristics which dignify the philosopher; traitor to every measure which had for its object the alleviation of the condition of man, plunges in blood and slavery the country of his birth, and when arrived at the summit of his ambition, having succeeded in destroying the lives and liberties of the sons of Albion, to terminate his existence, which, by ruthless deeds had become terrific, his last dastardly resort is to find the carotid artery; loaded with curses and execrations of thousands as he passed to his grave. As to kings, the patronizers of priests and Clogherites, they are rapidly on the wane, as you have very appropriately observed in your Republican; they are in a very gouty, a very precarious condition, consequently, when one falls, the other will follow as a matter of course. The immortal Paine by incontrovertible arguments, has proved to a demonstration, that they are the most useless animals in creation; being of no other service to man than to keep him in continual slavery both in body and mind.

It is a duty incumbent on every true Republican, on every lover of liberty and free discussion, on every well wisher to the universal spread of Truth, Science, and Philosophy, to render all the assistance in his power to those incarcerated Individuals who have so boldly stepped forward to advocate the cause of freedom. But upon this subject, I offer the following remarks, hoping that you or some of your numerous correspondents who are better able to discuss the subject will offer a few hints on the same topic.

First, that the Press, free from corruption, is the great inexhaustible fountain of all knowledge: the other sun; the brightest of all luminaries, which nurtures and animates our intellectual faculties, whether moral, theological, political, scientific, or philosophical, consequently should be free from all restraints.

Second, that it is for the benefit of every person who feels himself interested in the cause of truth and free discussion to stand forward and lend his assistance to those incarcerated individuals who are now suffering for the publication of works, which have conferred everlasting honours on the authors: works, which are calculated to promote morality and act as a chart to steer us clear of those rocks which priestly hypocrisy, fanaticism and long standing prejudices have thrown in our way.

Third, that the Society for the Promotion of Vice (as they are stiled by Mr. Hume) aided by the corrupt tools in power, are prosecuting publishers and venders, for selling those very works, which if permitted to have a free circulation, would illuminate the world.

Fourth, that a society be formed to act in opposition to the Vice Society, and that subscriptions be immediately entered into to support the same, and to give every well wisher to the cause an opportunity of subscribing, let a responsible Treasurer be chosen in every town throughout the kingdom, and a committee chosen in London to transact business and take the management of the funds of this Society.

Fifth, that the funds of this Society shall be entirely appropriated to the support of those publishers and venders who are now suffering, and who may hereafter suffer under the brutal pressure of tyrannical and oppressive persecution.

Sixth that a report of the proceedings of this Society, be annually printed in the Republican for the information of the members.

I here close my remarks, sufficient has been advanced to show the nature of the Society I should wish to see established. In my humble opinion, such a measure would greatly accelerate the cause of Republicanism, and act as a stimulus to future exertions.

I bring this letter to a conclusion by observing, that you have the entire approbation of the Republicans of Bradford, for the unremitting zeal you have displayed in the cause of freedom, and for the unprecedented defeat Kingcraft and Priestcraft have sustained by your exertions. Speaking for myself, you have manifested such sterling independence; such magnanimity of sentiment in your productions, which is rarely to be met with, and seldom exceeded. To sum up the whole, you have laid the axe to the root of corruption, and that every stroke may reverberate through every atom of despotism and priestly superstition remains to be decided by the support of a generous and discerning public.

The following quotation from Burns (I think) is expressive of the sentiments of every genuine Republican

By oppression's woes and pains!
By your Sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall, they shall be free!
Lay the proud usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!
Forward—let us do or die!

That you may ultimately and triumphantly prevail over all your enemies is the ardent desire of

Your fellow Citizen,

JOHN DRABBLE.

Bradford Subscription.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Susannah Smith, an Enemy			John Drabble, who prefers		
to Tyranny and Oppression	2	0	the admirable philanthropy		
H. S. snatched from the fire			of Thomas Paine to		
and brimstone venders by			the hypocritical cant of		
Thomas Paine	1	0	the whole race of Priests	2	6

	s.	d.		s.	d.
James Stead, Republican and Deist	2	6	Joshua Swittenbank, an Enemy to Superstition	1	0
Thomas Law, Republican and Deist	2	6	Thomas Bycroft, no Religionist	2	6
A Friend to Free Discussion	2	6	Thomas Willman, a Friend to Liberty	0	6
Margaret Law	0	6	J. Eveleigh, an Enemy to Oppression	0	6
Joseph Law, a disciple of Paines 31 years, but now a Materialist	1	6	John Lobley, a Friend to Freedom	0	6
John Swittenbank, an Unitarian	1	0	A Materialist	1	0
J. N. a Friend to Liberty	0	6			

TO MR. JOHN DRABBLE, BRADFORD,
YORKSHIRE.

Dorchester Gaol, May 18, Year 4
of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZEN,

YOU are welcome to the company of the sons of freedom; and thrice welcome, since you come with a mind as free from superstition, as ardent in the desire to emancipate others. Every honest man, whether rich or poor, intelligent or ignorant, is welcome to range himself under the banner of Republicanism: if ignorant, let us instruct him; if poor, let us assist him in making his labour useful, and shew him how to derive all its profits for his own use. To the women, we offer the same welcome: we will cherish and support them, in the same degree, as they will aid and animate us to proceed in this great cause, which shall procure peace and happiness for their children, if we and they do not live to enjoy it. Our present cause, which combines the interest of man, woman, and child, is mutual aid, and mutual instruction, to the acquirement of future mutual benefits.

Citizen, as a new friend, I promise you, that nothing but death shall move me out of that path in which I have walked these last six years. I have been just six years before the public, as a publisher of useful and instructive books and pamphlets, and out of those six I have filled up just four years in different gaols, for the crime of putting forth such publications. Notwithstanding this, I have this day more strength of mind, more knowledge, more ardour, and more determination to proceed, than I had six years ago, before I had ever seen the inside of a Gaol. If I saw the certainty of four more years, or even an imprisonment

for life, I should reconcile myself to it, and make the best of it, or study to turn it to some advantage. Nothing of that kind shall change my conduct: my organization was framed for such a struggle with despotism. *Obstinacy to death*, in what I conceive to be right, is my prevailing sentiment.

Many persons fancy, and even propagate the notion, that my object is profit, and that I am making large profits; but I assure you, that this is not the case. I will always live as well as I can, and do the best I can for my family; and make the best appearance I can with them; which was my aim and study when a journeyman mechanic: but as to property and condition I am not so well off as I was four years ago, and am often actually short of money to meet my frugal expences in this Gaol. But I am satisfied, I am delighted with my situation in life; because I can see the certain triumph of our principles.

I do not take the same views, as to the necessity or prudence of a *Counter Vice Society*, which you seem to take. In the first place I have seen from my youth, that all such societies are injurious in one respect; they form a sectarianism, in relation to the general society which constitutes the country. Every species of sectarianism becomes a social injury, therefore it is the duty of the patriot and the philanthropist to discountenance it. The multitude of separate societies in this country and in Ireland, are a complete pest; and, instead of strengthening the people, form one of the main causes of their weakness and inability to crush the despotism that oppresses them. There may be instances where trade societies are useful to the journeyman, when the employer is tyrannical, or desirous to grapple with more than his proper share of the profits of the labour done: but I have seen instances, where these have done great harm, by keeping up a constant irritation between masters and men, and generating improprieties of conduct on both sides. To resist tyranny and oppression in every shape is commendable, but it behoves us to take care that we do not generate it when it does not exist: therefore, I think, that such associations should only follow an existing oppression.

But, you will say, the Vice Society does exist, and is oppressive. Granted. But does it succeed in its attempts? I say, *no*. What have they done by prosecuting me? Have they suppressed the sale of any thing, in my way of business, that would have been sold if no prosecution, no Vice

Society had existed? I say, *no*. Have not their prosecutions, though generative of great expence and great individual oppression, given effect to the circulation of the publications which they desire to suppress? The answer must be in the affirmative. The Vice Society, by sending one individual to prison, has done nothing, so long as there is another ready to take his place and bid them defiance; which is now the case, and which shall continue to be the case, so long as the game of prosecution be kept up. There has not been a deficiency for an hour since I first made a stand against them: and not only my opposition, but that of several other independent persons is now formed against them. Mr. Davison and Mr. Trust deserve honourable mention. Every thousand of well written pamphlets or volumes, that circulates in and among an inquisitive community, produces a great and never ceasing effect; whilst the Vice Society, or any other kind of prosecuting association, that is well opposed, loses ground, loses power, at every step it takes. At every prosecution their chance of success is lessened, whilst ours is rendered more certain. A vicious obstinacy may induce them to persevere, but it is the obstinacy that accelerates its own destruction; whilst, on our side, an obstinacy ensures a triumph. If the members of the Vice Society could shew us, in private conference, that we were morally or legally wrong, their triumph over us would be as certain as ours is now; since we can shew them, that, though they have power and the whole force of government on their side, they are both legally and morally wrong.

Since then the Vice Society does not, nor cannot do any general injury in the attempts which they make to keep down our principles; but since their prosecutions evidently give us strength; I would not recommend any countervailing society; as the support of a few individuals in prison is all that is required, and this can be done by voluntary contributions.

If a society were established to give me support, I should fear two things: first, that the society when established and possessing a fund would seek to dictate to me what line of conduct I should follow, on the condition of receiving its support; and, secondly, that the members would disagree among themselves, break up, and leave me without any kind of support: which is an incident common to all such societies. I would rather depend upon my present precarious support, and do the best I can after my own notion of

right, leaving every individual to support or not to support me, as he or she thought proper. In one respect, I am like Mina in Spain, I am for having a free command of a free corps, and not to be subject to any other controuling power than my own principles and sense of right. As I do not seek to enforce a support, no one has any right to complain. Any one who thinks he could accomplish my object in a better manner than I have followed, has a way open for him to try it. I will not impede him, but will assist as far as I can see a utility in view.

Citizen, I return my thanks and present my respects to the Republicans of Bradford, and, if my past conduct has pleased or satisfied them, I have no fear of ever incurring their displeasure.

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO MR. R CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Yarmouth, May 13, 1823.

SOME friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in this town, transmit their second subscription, £3. 13s. 6d. towards the fines levied upon you, to support *Peace on earth and goodwill to men*.

Mr. J. B. shoemaker begs your acceptance of a pair of Shoes made by himself, he is only sorry when he considers where they must be worn.

Should your Persecutors offer to give up the Fines, provided you give the bail required (*which is for life*) the friends of liberty here hope you will never consent, they look upon this as the worst part of the sentence, and have no hesitation in declaring their opinion that should "the powers that be" think it necessary, at any time afterwards, to make you forfeit it, and which is more than probable they would do, no steps in their power, however unjust, would be a bar to accomplish their object, you would thus be again incarcerated without the semblance of a trial.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Simon Cobb	5	0	J. C.	1	0
H. Martin	5	0	M. R.	1	0
Edward B.	5	0	Amicus	2	6
E. G.	5	0	G. P. H.	1	0
Benjamin Cobb	2	0	A Materialist	1	0
D. S.	1	0	R. W. a Friend to Free Dis-		
Friendship	1	0	cussion	3	0
An Enemy to Persecution	1	0	J. B. Smith	2	6
A Friend to Liberty	1	0	A Friend	2	6
B. N.	1	0	W. Meyrick	2	0

	s.	d.		s.	d.
S.	1	0	James Woodhouse	1	0
W. H. who like to taste of the forbidden fruit, Reason	2	0	One who hates the devouring Black Slugs	1	0
Samuel Castors	2	0	An Enemy to Persecution	0	6
James Baldry	1	0	A Friend	2	6
Maria Baldry	1	0	Anti-Parson	2	0
D. H.	1	0	Thomas Bammaunt	0	6
John Dunnell	2	0	Mr. Munning	0	6
J. Richmond	1	0	K.	2	6
James Drake	1	0	H. S.	1	0
One who believes that Kings and Priests are all combined			J. P.	0	6
To fetter and oppress man- kind	1	0	John F.	2	6
			Edward Woodrow	1	6
			W. L.	1	0

TO THE YARMOUTH FRIENDS TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, May 18, 1823.

I RETURN you thanks for this your subscription towards my support: but I cannot promise a compliance with your suggestion as to my bail. I look upon it as an additional fine of twelve hundred pounds; but the refusal to give it, would be that species of perpetual imprisonment which the government would rejoice at, and say it was my own pleasure. You must understand that a misdemeanor, sufficient, in the law sense, to forfeit those recognizances, must have the sanction of one of their packed and prejudiced juries; therefore, there would be no loss of a mock trial.

I return my thanks to Mr. J. B. for the shoes. They are an exact size for my feet. I flatter myself, that, as a Republican, he is composed of equally tough and excellent stuff as the shoes he has made me. If, like the Israelites, I should have a forty years trial in this worse than wilderness, I am sure, that like theirs, my shoes will not wax old! therefore Jehovah and his Jews shall not have all the miracles to themselves. I wish every patriot Spaniard had such a pair on his feet at this moment, and until his country was cleared of despots. To an army, good shoes are of as much importance as good arms. I think I shall keep my Yarmouth shoes for a campaign!

I wish all my friends to understand that my bail will not impede my progress for a moment, nor will I put any individual to expence who may become bail for me. If Mina

carries the tri-coloured flag to Paris, I expect he will soon become my bail and surety. I shall commit no more misdemeanors afterwards.

RICHARD CARLILE.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

(Continued from page 593.)

CHAP. XVIII.

Examination of St. Paul's Miracles.

THOUGH St. Paul as we have just seen, has himself taken care to shake the credit of the author of the Acts of the Apostles, it is nevertheless on the word of this writer that Christians think themselves obliged to believe in the miracles of our great Apostle. In fact, like all those who have endeavoured to establish new sects, our preacher could not dispense with performing prodigies: this is the most certain method of exciting the admiration of the vulgar. Incapable of reasoning, of judging of the soundness of a doctrine, and frequently unable in the least to comprehend it, miracles always become the most powerful of arguments; they are indubitable proofs that he who works them is the favourite of the divinity, that consequently he cannot be in the wrong, nor capable of a wish to deceive.

Miracles were more especially necessary amongst the Jews; they demanded signs from all those who spoke to them in the name of the Lord, and there was little difficulty in working them, before an ignorant and credulous people, ready to receive as such every thing that was shewn to them. In spite of a disposition so favourable to miracle-mongers, we do not find that those of Jesus himself and afterwards of his apostles, produced on the Jews those effects which we have a right to expect from them. We find that at the time they were performed they convinced nobody and drew those who worked them, into difficult situations. It was not until a long time had elapsed that these prodigies produced their effects, and by a miracle that we can never cease to admire, we find, that these prodigies, which were discarded by those who saw them, were most firmly believed by those who did not see them, and are now ranked

amongst the strongest evidences of the divinity of the Christian religion. There are only some reasoners who persist in judging of these ancient miracles in the same manner as the contemporaries who did not see them, or who, if they did see them, regarded them as so many instances of deception and slight of hand, incapable of imposing on them. It is only the simplicity of faith, that is to say, an implicit confidence in the assertions of our guides, which can make us see miracles, or cause us to believe in those we have not seen. But this simple faith is the effect of an especial grace that God grants only to those who are poor in spirit, and harshly refuses to those who think and reason. As soon as we want confidence in the operators, we see no more miracles, or at least we doubt of those that are shewn to us.

It does not appear that St. Paul performed miracles at Jerusalem after his conversion; this city was not in his department: it belonged to St. Peter and the other Jewish apostles, who, according to the Acts, did not cease to work miracles there. Our Apostle of the uncircumcised, or of the district in which the Gentiles were converted, having quitted his brethren, commenced his course of miracles at Paphos. He was upon the point of converting Sergius, proconsul of the province, had not a cursed sorcerer of a Jew, named Barjesus, and surnamed Elymas, *i. e.* magician, endeavoured to prevent the magistrate from believing in Jesus Christ. Indignant at the obstacle that this man opposed to the divine will, instead of converting and convincing him, Paul abused him according to the present practice of theologians, and called him a child of the devil, and finished with striking him with blindness. If this conduct was conducive to the salvation of the proconsul, who according to the author of the Acts, having seen this miracle, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord, there are many who will not be so edified, at this prodigy, so contrary to Christian charity and mildness. In fact would it not have been more kind of St. Paul armed with divine power, to have enlightened the eyes of the sorcerer's mind, than to have struck those of his body with darkness? But we always see that the miracle that the apostles as well as their divine master had most difficulty in working was that of convincing those who were not disposed to believe every thing.

It appears that on the present occasion, the sorcerer was stronger, in point of reasoning, than St. Paul, which put him in a passion. Logic was not in fact, the most prominent quality in our Apostle, any more than in his brethren

and successors. Besides, this holy Missionary was of too impetuous a temper to reason with moderation, and argue in a clear and precise manner. Thus to terminate the dispute with Elymas, he abused him, and perhaps relying on the protection of the proconsul, whom he saw wavering in favour of his doctrine, ventured to strike his antagonist, which deprived him of his sight for a period, for it is easy to deprive a man of the use of his eyes without a miracle*.

We learn that our Apostle and his associate Barnabas, wrought such miracles at Iconium, that all the city was divided; one part being in favour of the Jews, and the other for the Apostles. But immediately after we are informed, that "when there was an assault made, both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them, the Apostles were aware of it, and fled to Lystra and Derbe."

This conduct of the inhabitants of Iconium is certainly inconceivable. Pagans and Jews unite to ill treat and stone our Apostles, who in spite of the divine power which they possess have no other expedient, than to seek safety in flight.

In spite of the inutility of his miracles, Paul worked more at Lystra; he there cured a lame man, in whom by mere inspection he discovered much faith. This gives rise to a suspicion that this might have been a miracle concerted between them. He said to him, with a loud voice, stand upright on thy feet, and he leaped and walked. The people of Lystra were so struck by this prodigy, that they took our two missionaries for gods, and would have offered them sacrifices, but Paul and Barnabas forbade them with great modesty. This great miracle must have been believed, even by the priest of Jupiter, since it is said, that he brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have sacrificed with them. This circumstance clearly proves that nobody at Lystra doubted the truth of this miracle. However some Jews who had arrived from Iconium were able to deceive a whole city, which had seen the miracle of the lame man. The poor St. Paul, who had just before been taken for Jupiter, was stoned, and dragged out of the city for

* This, it must in candour be acknowledged, is an inference which the text will not warrant us to draw, and is unworthy Boulanger's pen. It seems to be compromising the dignity of truth, to impose upon itself the necessity of accounting for all the hocus pocus tricks, or wilful falsehoods, which the ignorance, bigotry, and knavery of a deplorable superstition, have handed down through the mist of eighteen centuries.—*Translator.*

dead; he revived, however, and, in spite of his miracle, he saved himself, with Barnabas by fleeing to Derbe.

The miracle wrought by our saint at Philippi in Macedonia, did not meet with more success, he there cured a girl, who had a spirit of Python, and being by that means possessed of the power of divination, gained great profit to her masters. These, far from acknowledging and admiring the power of a man who reduced to silence Apollo, one of the most powerful gods of paganism, brought Paul and Silas before the magistrates, and excited the people against them. It is right to remark in this place, that Apollo (*i. e.* the Devil) who resided in this prophetess, laboured to destroy his own empire. In fact having perceived Paul and his comrade, the girl followed them, crying, these men are the servants of the Most High God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this did she many days. But Paul being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her, and he came out the same hour*.

It is surprising that Paul was grieved at a declaration so favourable to his mission, and that he should impose silence on a demon, whose testimony was so honourable, and likely to draw adherents! but the conduct of saints is always inexplicable.

In these unhappy times in which faith is so cold, no credit is given, either to those possessed, or to soothsayers; it is difficult to know what the nature of the spirit of Python, which inhabited the Macedonian girl could have been†. If we might hazard a conjecture on the subject, it might be supposed that our Apostles, to give themselves some relief, gained her over, and employed her to play her part, by giving her to understand that it would be her interest to attach herself to the new sect, rather than work for masters, who, probably, paid her very poorly for her services from which they drew all the profit.

The magistrates of Philippi on the complaint of those

* Acts xvi. 17, 18.

† Some critics have been very much embarrassed, to conjecture what the nature of this spirit of Python could have been: several have thought that those who had this spirit, were such as are known to us in the present day by the name of ventriloquists, who have the power of articulating words, more or less distinctly, without any motion of the lips being perceptible. There are such persons, who create much surprise to those unacquainted with this faculty, and we cannot be astonished that the vulgar, who doat upon the marvellous, should attribute this power to supernatural causes.

masters, as we have seen, caused our exorcists to be flogged, and sent them to prison. An earthquake happened very opportunely, the jailor was gained over or converted; the magistrates, thinking the Missionaries had been sufficiently punished, permitted them to depart; but then, as we have seen, they declared themselves Roman citizens, and refused to go, until the magistrates, who were now intimidated, consented to make them an honourable reparation.

Notwithstanding the miracles wrought by Paul during his mission, disagreeable reports every where accompanied him, or followed him, so closely in all the cities through which he passed, that neither himself nor his comrades could remain long in the same place. They only passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and repaired to Thessalonica, where, in a very short time, the whole city was in an alarm. Jason, their host, was, as we have already seen, ill treated on their account, it was alleged against our Missionaries, that they overthrew every thing, and in preaching another king than Cæsar, seemed desirous of plotting a conspiracy. In consequence of this, as it was a serious accusation, the brethren contrived the escape of Paul and Silas during the night.

Arrived at Berea, our two adventurers, soon excited similar disturbances. Paul repaired to Athens, where the philosophers who heard him, took him for a talker whose brain was unsound. However in spite of his success, which was doubtless very slow, he had the mortification of being compelled to labour at his original trade of tent-making, which was very hard for a preacher ordained to live by the altar, that is to say, one whose trade it was to sell spiritual wares, to those who bound themselves to provide him, wherewith to subsist on credit. Such is clerical traffic. Further, St. Paul takes special care to boast to the Corinthians of his great disinterestedness. He makes them understand he would not be chargeable upon them; by which he appears to have intended some indirect reproaches, calculated to pique their pride and excite their generosity, towards the holy man who laboured for their salvation*. The Corinthians probably imagined that men who performed miracles, had no need of assistance: but our miracle-mongers were under the necessity of satisfying their wants by ordinary methods. They were like the adepts, who were always in poverty though offering to others the secret of making gold.

* See 2. Corinthians, chap. xi. ver. 7, 8, 9, 16. Chap. xii. ver. 13, and also 1. Corinthians chap. ix. ver 11, 13, 14,

There is reason to believe that Paul performed great miracles amongst the Corinthians, at least he says to them himself "Truly the signs of an apostle, were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and in mighty deeds*." However we find that these miracles had not yet sufficiently convinced the Corinthians, since Paul says to them "Seek ye a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you ward is not weak, but is mighty in you†."

Respecting the miracles wrought by St. Paul at Corinth, we have only his own evidence, and that is sufficient; the author of the Acts though very free upon this article does not inform us, that he wrought any in this city, this was most likely the case, since he remained there a long time, an unusual circumstance, where he condescended to perform miracles, which generally compelled him to remove, in consequence of the disturbance they excited. He was obliged to quit Ephesus, where we are assured, that he performed a great number, and where handkerchiefs, linen, &c. which had touched him, cured the sick, and expelled devils. He departed from Troas directly after having raised a dead man to life, or at least after having asserted that a young man, who was thought so, was in reality not so. In short in the isle of Malta he cured himself of the bite, either because the reptile had not in fact bitten him, or by applying fire to the wound, a remedy which though common, might be unknown to the inhabitants of the island, as we have already remarked.

* 2 Corinthians xii. 12.

† 2 Corinthians xiii. 3.

(To be Continued.)

The following admirable Letter is copied from the "Monthly Magazine," May 1st.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MONTHLY MAGAZINE."

SIR,

THE general interest created by the late trial in the West, growing out of that belief in witchcraft which is still entertained by the mass of uneducated people, will perhaps render acceptable a few observations on the equally absurd faith of the educated, or of the classes among us undeservedly called enlightened.

Every one who ascribes a cause to an effect which has not commensurate or analogous power to produce it, every one who believes that

a body can act where it is not,—every one who considers that a material phenomenon can take place without a material cause, or combination of material causes,—every one who considers that any force or power exists which is not essentially the multiple of some matter into some motion, —is actually as firm a believer in the *principle* of witchcraft as the woman and her daughters who assaulted the supposed witch at Wivilscomb.

These are universal propositions, which admit of no exceptions in the whole range of human observation and science. Every one who should attempt to prove an exception to them would evince a mind not thoroughly practised in the art of reasoning, and capable of admitting by analogy the *principle* of witchcraft.

Witchery is merely the assumption of a power which has no material or mechanical connexion with the alleged effect; and if the belief in it is one of the first of the family of superstitions which the educated have agreed to expel, their faith in other branches of the same family proves that they are more offended by its vulgarity and grossness than by its opposition to first principles of philosophical truth.

In the politest circles we hear every moment of *luck* and *ill-luck* at cards and dice; and of *good* and *ill-fortune* in all the affairs of life, as points of faith governing constant practice; yet all those who talk of and believe in such operative agencies are palpably as complete dupes of the *principle* of witchcraft as the good women of Wivilscomb.

By the most splendid fire-sides we hear the gravest parties speaking of their dreams (which often, however, are their best thoughts,) as affording anticipations of good or evil; and all believers in such circumstances, utterly unconnected as cause and effect, are of course radical believers, though in another form, in the *principle* of witchcraft.

In our universities, in our royal and other learned Societies, we hear the most sapient professors and most dazzling lecturers treating gravely and eloquently of the mutual and innate attractions and repulsions of *inert* and *senseless* masses of matter; of innate powers, of *universal* gravitation acting between planets through an infinite vacuum, and counteracted by projectile forces; of affinities, single double, and compound; and of innate principles of operation out of number: plain as it is, that no such causes can have any connexion with the effects; and yet most of your readers, enlightened as they may fancy themselves, will startle on discovering that belief in any such innate causes or principles is closely allied to belief in the gross and vulgar *principle* of witchcraft.

It is to be feared that human nature is too radically infected with superstition, or with a disposition to ascribe effects to inadequate and irrelevant causes, or to principles which cannot be causes at all, for it is to be expected that such errors will speedily be weeded from the mind. The learned as they call themselves, who laugh at certain extravagancies of the less assuming classes, should however take the

beam out of their own eyes before they can with effect remove the mote from the eyes of others. For their strong powers of reasoning by analogy will continue to mislead the unlettered as long as those who are mis-called philosophers continue to teach, that some incomprehensible power in the earth acts on the opposite side of a stone, and occasions it to fall to the earth;—that a cork is drawn to a bung floating on the water by mutual forces, which drive them by acting on their opposite sides;—that the moon raises the water by pushing it upward from the bottom of the sea*:—as long as chemists talk so flippantly of their attractions, repulsions, affinities, matter of caloric, and as many other gratuitous powers as would furnish another thousand-and-one nights;—as long as medical colleges teach that reptiles or plants are endowed with a principle of life distinct from the capabilities of their organization to appropriate the powers by which they are surrounded;—as long as waking dreamers discuss their half-sleeping thoughts as portentous of unconnected events;—and as long as princes and lordlings of the earth are governed by feelings about luck and ill luck, good or bad fortune, and principles of absurd fatalism in regard to results governed by the chances of cards and dice!

COMMON SENSE.

N. B.—Though the *witchcraft* of that miserable philosophy, which is still taught in our universities, and honoured in our scientific institutions, tends to confirm the faith of the educated in causation, contrary to reason and the laws of mechanics; yet the credulity of human nature in general is fostered by the transforming powers of harlequin's wand, and the other fascinating food of superstition, introduced on the stage. Even the idioms of our language, and half our common-place phraseology, are debased by admitted miracles, all in the *spirit* of witchcraft, and introduced into it in the age of Shakspeare and Newton, when witchcraft and conjuration were identified with religion itself, admitted by law, and questioned by no one. Yet the time must come when, as a consequence of these false admissions, the books and compositions of the age of the first four George's must become even more obsolete than the quaint wit of the age of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts.

* As men have not time to examine two out of every three propositions submitted to them, so thousands never have considered that all motion is produced by a force in the direction of the motion; consequently, that if the moon attracts or draws the waters in a direction *towards itself*, the moon must push them upward from the bottom of the sea! So it is with all pretended attractions; yet such is the precious stuff taught to the youth of Europe in every university and every seminary of education as veritable philosophy!